1102. f. 5. 6

AN

ADDRESS

FROM

WILLIAM SMITH,

OF

SOUTH-CAROLINA,

TO HIS

CONSTITUENTS.

PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED:
LONDON, REPRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

AN ADDRESS, &c.

TO promote the welfare and proſperity of his country is the firſt duty of every citizen who is inveſted with a public truſt; to conciliate the eſteem of his fellow-citizens in general, and thoſe in particular by whom he is entruſted, is the next. Fortunate is he who by his conduct can unite two objects ſo intereſting and ſo deſirable: But it too frequently happens that they are irreconcileable to each other, and that in the conflict of ſentiments ariſing from political circumſtances, the public man muſt make his election either to ſacrifice his conſcience to his popularity, or his popularity to his conſcience.

Theſe ideas are intended as an introduction to an addreſs to my conſtituents, which ſome recent information, relative to their opinions, has ſuggeſted as neceſſary in the exiſting criſis of our public affairs. In free governments, the repreſentative is bound to explain to the repreſented, whenever they require it, the grounds and motives of his conduct. It is eſſential to their ſatisfaction that they ſhould, in matters which concern their honor and happineſs, be acquainted with the principles and ſentiments of him whom they have delegated to legiſlate for them. If this doctrine be a ſound one in ordinary times, it derives increaſed ſtrength from the ſerioufneſs and ſolemnity of the preſent juncture.

It is with much readineſs, therefore, that I divert my attention for a time from the objects which at preſent engage it, to enter into a candid diſcuſſion of thoſe points about which I underſtand there exiſts a diverſity of ſentiment between ſome of my conſtituents and myſelf. I am unapprized of the preciſe nature and extent of that difference or of the grounds on which it reſts, or of the number of thoſe to whom it relates. I have only been informed in vague and general terms "that my ſpeeches on the propoſed commercial regulations, have been deemed by ſome of my conſtituents derogatory to our national honor and welfare;" without enquiring from what claſs this ſentiment has proceeded, or the extent of thoſe to whom it may be applicable, deference for every claſs and for all, prompt me to lay before them a fair, explicit, and honeſt account of the motives which actuated, and the principles which governed me in oppoſing thoſe commercial regulations.

To ſuppoſe that all thoſe who may peruſe this addreſs have read the ſpeeches above alluded to, would be to expect too much. Were I convinced of it, this publication would be not a little abridged, as a reference to thoſe ſpeeches would conſiderably anſwer the purpoſe intended by this addreſs. But knowing from experience how few take the trouble to read long ſpeeches, how many turn with diſdain from even ſhort ones when hoſtile to their opinions, and how many more are ſatisfied with a verbal report of the contents of a lengthy work, I muſt take it for granted that the ſpeeches have been as little read as they have been much miſrepreſented, and that the many who have not ſeen them have contented themſelves with the inaccurate and unfaithful interpretation of the few who have.

Thoſe who have been much on the active ſcene of public life need not be told how eaſy it is to miſrepreſent and what up-hill work it is to explain. The truth is, whether it proceeds from the folly or wickedneſs of human nature I will not determine, that mankind in general liſten with pleaſure to a ſhort calumny, and with pain to a long refutation of it.

In the preſent refined ſtate of ſcience, there has been diſcovered a ſpecies of ſhort-hand logic by which artful politicians reaſon away the character of thoſe whoſe politics they diſlike; it is I ſuppoſe by this ſummary proceſs that I have been ſentenced: The following ſyllogiſm was probably the proceſs which produced conviction, "He has advocated the cauſe of the Britiſh nation, which is piratically plundering us of our property; none but an enemy to the honor and proſperity of America would advocate ſuch a nation, therefore he is an enemy to the honor and proſperity of America." To do away the effect of this unanſwerable kind of logic, may appear to ſome an arduous attempt, and after having myſelf ſtated the difficulty of refuting calumny, ought perhaps to deter me, from the taſk. But as every rule has its exception, and, as on a former occaſion, my conſtituents were found more willing to exculpate than condemn, more pleaſed with the refutation than the charge, a lively gratitude for the liberality and candor evinced by them on that occaſion, a juſt ſenſe of what I owe them on this, and a ſtrong conviction that the ſame liberality and candor will not now be withheld, invite me to undertake it.

I have ſtated what I ſuppoſe to have been the proceſs of reaſoning by which I have been condemned. Were the premiſes true, the inferences

would have been juſt, and would have ſealed my conviction.

Were it true that I had advocated the cauſe of the Britiſh nation and vindicated her piratical conduct, no reproach could have been too harſh for ſuch treachery. But let us ſtate the thing truly, and then the ſyllogiſm would ſtand thus;—"Commercial reſtrictions were propoſed, which were thought by many of the moſt reſpectable characters in the United States to be pregnant with miſchievous conſequences to the commercial and agricultural intereſt of this country; it was the duty of thoſe who viewed them in that light to oppoſe them—he did opoſe them—therefore he has done what his duty dictated."

Thus ſtands the ſyllogiſm as to the *fact*—how ſhould it ſtand as to the *arguments and principles* by which the oppoſition was conducted:—thus—a ſyſtem of commercial regulations was propoſed favorable to France, injurious to Britain, predicated upon a ſyſtem of commerce on the part of France favorable to the United States, and on the part of Britain, unfavorable to the United States—the reverſe being the truth, it was the duty of thoſe who knew the reverſe to be true to ſhew it;—he proved it by an undeniable ſtatement of facts; he did therefore nothing more than duty preſcribed.—Connecting the two foregoing ſtatements they form this reſult;—that the ſubject was merely a *commercial* one, and the inquiry, 1ſt. Whether the French or the Britiſh commercial ſyſtem was on the whole moſt beneficial to the United States; 2d. Whether the propoſed regulations in a commercial point of view were likely to prove injurious or not?

It was my opinion, that the *commercial ſyſtem* of Great-Britain was, on the whole, more favorable to

the United States than the *permanent commercial ſyſtem of France*; it likewiſe appeared to me, from the beſt documents, that the deviations from the latter were in general, either dictated by the neceſſity of the moment, or leſs favorable to us than the original ſyſtem. 2d. It was my opinion, that the propoſed reſtrictions would beget counter-reſtrictions on the part of Britain, and would terminate in a commercial warfare, which, however it might injure that country, would undoubtedly injure this, and particularly South-Carolina, depending ſo much on foreign ſupplies, and requiring a great quantity of ſhipping for the export of bulky products. Both theſe opinions were ſanctioned by the authority of all the mercantile members of the Houſe of Repreſentatives, and by a conſiderable number of other enlightened and reſpectable ſtateſmen.

For the facts and reaſons in ſupport of theſe opinions I beg to refer to the ſpeeches I made on the occaſion, as collected in a pamphlet, and not to the mutilated accounts, or miſrepreſented and garbled quotations in the illiberal ſpeeches of others. Let the reader previouſly take this into conſideration, that the ſubject was purely a *commercial* one, the reſtrictions deſigned on the one hand as counter-reſtrictions for ſuppoſed commercial grievances exiſting on the part of Britain, and on the other as boons for ſuppoſed commercial favors granted by France, that they were intended to ameliorate the condition of our commerce, that they were in the firſt inſtance introduced, not as a remedy for political grievances, but merely a retaliation for commercial arrangements, having reference entirely to *a ſtate of peace* and expreſsly intended, as it was ſaid, *to prevent a ſtate of war*. It

may be proper further to obſerve, that the inſtructions of 6th November, and the condemnations under them in the Weſt-Indies, were *unknown at the time thoſe ſpeeches were made*, that our then exiſting political grievances were in a train of negociation, and anſwers from Great Britain daily expected as to it's iſſue. Had thoſe inſtructions and condemnations been known, it is preſumable the commercial regulations would have never claimed a conſideration, as all would have agreed that it was folly to waſte time in regulating a commerce which required immediate protection, or in diſcuſſing ſyſtems of improvement for that which without ſpeedy meaſures for its ſafety would ſoon be annihilated.

Being the firſt who oppoſed the commercial regulations, and aware of the diſpoſition in others to ſupport them by addreſſes to the paſſions already inflamed by the political miſconduct of Britain towards the United States, I not only cautiouſly forbore to make any alluſion to the political wrongs experienced from Britain, but I recommended to to thoſe who ſhould follow me to confine the diſcuſſion entirely to the *commercial* ſyſtem of France and Britain: The mover of the propoſitions, who replied to me, took up the ſubject on that ground, and though he ſprinkled on it from time to time a little *political* ſeaſoning to make his diſh more palatable, yet it muſt be admitted that he reſted the *ſtrength of his cauſe and the merits of his ſyſtem entirely on the reſpective commercial ſyſtems of France and Britain.* The diſcuſſion was purſued in this *its true courſe* for ſome time; on one ſide it being urged that the Britiſh commercial ſyſtem, though containing ſome diſagreeable features, was, *upon the whole*, more advantageous to the eſſential intereſts of the

United States than that of France, and that the propoſed regulations while they would fall ſhort of the intended effect, as to Britain, would cauſe a very ſerious derangement to our commerce, injure eſſentially our agricultural intereſts and materially impair our revenues; on the other, that the French commercial ſyſtem conferred on the United States favors not to be found in that of Britain, which was ſaid to be hoſtile to our moſt precious intereſts, and that the regulations, though they might occaſion a temporary derangement and diſtreſs, would in the end enlarge the ſphere of our trade, open new markets for our ſupplies and exports, and compel Britain to enter into commercial arrangements with us, which would remove the preſent embarraſſments ariſing from her ſyſtem, and ſecure to us valuable and permanent advantages. As the ſubject however came to be developed and underſtood, the advocates for the propoſitions, finding that the *commercial* ground was untenable, and that the facts which had been ſtated, and the inferences ariſing from them had made an impreſſion which threatened the rejection of their favorite project, reſorted to their *political* ground.

This corps de reſerve being now brought into play, a furious charge was made upon the paſſions and feelings of the houſe with the Indians, the Algerines, the weſtern poſts, the violations of our neutral rights, and the ſpoliations of our commerce.

Having preſcribed to myſelf from the beginning a line which I had firmly reſolved not to tranſgreſs, I made no reply whatever to theſe arguments; I conſidered them as inapplicable to the ſubject; that we were diſcuſſing a *peace* ſyſtem; and that if *war* were to be reſorted to, other meaſures of a very dif-

ferent complexion would be expedient. In my reply, therefore, I confined myſelf as I had done before, to the *commercial part of the arguments*: I did not meddle with the political topics introduced, nor did I advance any thing which could by the tongue of calumny itſelf be miſconſtrued into a vindication of any of thoſe political injuries of Great-Britain, which either exiſted before, or which have grown out of the preſent war.

Other members however did not ſuffer thoſe points to paſs unnoticed. They obſerved, that if it were true that Great-Britain had inflicted all theſe injuries on the United States, and ſhould refuſe to enter into ſuch amicable arrangements as would remove the grievances and afford ample redreſs, then it would be proper at once either to interdict all commercial intercourſe with that country, or declare war againſt her. That with reſpect to the *Indians*, whatever ſuſpicion might be entertained, yet Congreſs had not ſufficient evidence that the Indian war was fomented by Britain; and if they had, the uſage of nations required that a complaint ſhould be made, before acts of hoſtility were recurred to. That although there was reaſon to believe that Britain had brought about the truce between Portugal and Algiers, yet there was evidence on the table from a reſpectable quarter which threw conſiderable doubt on the fact; but that admitting the truth of it, and it's dreadful effects on our commerce, ſtill it might be attributed leſs to any unfriendly ſentiment towards us, than to a cauſe more immediately connected with her own intereſts. That the ſubject of the weſtern poſts and that of the ſpoliations of our trade were then in a courſe of negociation, and it would be an improper interpoſition of the legiſlature to defeat or

impede by premature ſteps a negociation commenced by the Executive and at that moment depending. That it reſulted from theſe conſiderations, that if *war* were contemplated, the propoſed regulations were too *tame*; if *negociation*, they were *premature*; and if *peace*, then there was nothing in the *commercial* ſyſtem of Britain which *warranted* them, as a ſyſtem of *retaliation*, and they would be as unjuſt with reſpect to Britain, as they would be injurious to ourſelves. Some of theſe arguments were ſo far effectual as to induce the houſe to poſtpone the further conſideration of the propoſitions for near a month, in the expectation of hearing the reſult of the pending negociation: The poſtponement was however carried but by a very ſmall majority; the minority, in which I was, deeming the meaſure unconnected with the negociation, becauſe it would not be the proper one in the event either of its ſucceſs or failure; for in the event of *ſucceſs* it would be too *hoſtile*, in the event of failure, too *feeble*.—We therefore preſſed for a deciſion on its only true merits, namely, its *commercial merits*.

Some time after the poſtponement, accounts were received of the inſtructions of the 6th of November, and the ſeizures and condemnations of our veſſels in the Weſt-Indies.—Meaſures were immediately urged by thoſe who had oppoſed the commercial regulations, for putting the country in the beſt ſtate of defence, drawing forth with energy our military and pecuniary reſources, and veſting the Executive with ſuch powers as might enable him to negociate with greater effect, in caſe further negociation ſhould be thought conſiſtent with the honor of the nation. In all theſe meaſures I took ſuch an active part as muſt have ſatisfied every candid obſerver, that where the public ſafety or the national honor were

at ſtake, I yielded to no member in efforts to preſerve the one or to vindicate the other.—In times of great national danger, when the ſcene is conſtantly ſhifting around us, and every day preſents a different ſtate of things, the public man, who is reſponſible for his conduct, feels himſelf conſtrained to act with the utmoſt circumſpection; a falſe ſtep may commit the proſperity or the character of his country. Every one was ſenſible that the ſituation of the United States required *ſomething* to be done, but what *that ſomething* was, appeared extremely doubtful. Thoſe with whom commercial reſtrictions on the trade of Britain, and commercial favors to France, were favorite meaſures, availed themſelves of a criſis ſo propitious to their views; by taking advantage of the popular impulſe, and making it a queſtion whether France or Britain ſhould be moſt favored, it was conceived that none would be found bold enough to encounter the abuſe which would be induſtriouſly circulated againſt thoſe who ſhould be charged with oppugning the intereſts of the former, or keeping any terms with the latter. The public irritation, rouſed by the Algerine captures, the Indian war, the detention of the poſts, and the ſpoliation of our veſſels (though they had no more immediate connection with the ſubject than the partition of Poland) was made ſubſervient to the ſucceſs of their cauſe, and it was artfully endeavoured to ruin in the public eſtimation every man who oppoſed thoſe meaſures, on *true national grounds*, as being a partizan of Britain, and more attached to her intereſts than to thoſe of the United States, or as being hoſtile to the French Revolution, and well wiſhers to the combined powers. To ſhew the wickedneſs of theſe machinations, it is only neceſſary to remark, that among

the oppoſers of theſe reſolutions were men* who bore a conſpicuous part in our Revolution, men who are as diſtinguiſhed for their attachment to the principles of the French Revolution as they were for their gallantry in accompliſhing our own, men who have been always ranked among the warmeſt friends of their country; and that ſo far from the queſtion having any connection with the French Revolution, it is well known that the ſame ſyſtem of diſcrimination between France and Britain was attempted in 1789, before the exiſtence of that revolution, and four years before the war between thoſe nations. In 1790 and 91 the attempt was renewed; I was among thoſe who then oppoſed it on the ſame national principles I oppoſed it this ſeſſion, namely, 1ſt. That there was nothing in the commercial ſyſtem of Britain to juſtify our placing their trade with us on a worſe footing than that of France, or in that of France, which would warrant our putting their trade on a better footing than that of Britain. 2d. That the regulations would in themſelves, be injurious to our commerce, and that they would beget correſponding reſtrictions on the part of Britain, which would increaſe the evil. 3d. That it was impolitic, improvident, and unwiſe in a nation to grant commercial boons without ſecuring an equivalent by treaty. It was on theſe grounds the meaſure was oppoſed this ſeſſion, and none but the uninformed can ſee in the conduct of it's opponents, any diſregard either of our national intereſts or of our national honor. There are indeed thoſe who view commercial reſtrictions as the only mode of retaliation for *political* inſults, and the only ſpecies of warfare which the United

* Colonel Smith of Maryland, who defended Mud-Iſland; Colonel Forreſt, of Maryland, who loſt a leg at German-town; and many others.

States ought ever to wage; but this is mere matter of opinion, and it betrays no want of patriotiſm to be of a different one. Others on the contrary regard the propoſed meaſures in the preſent juncture as *impotent* with regard to other nations and *injurious* to ourſelves; it does not follow that either the one opinion or the other is an indication of political treachery; on great and urgent occaſions the beſt and wiſeſt ſtateſmen will differ as to the means of doing the greateſt good: thus it happens that this ſeſſion has given riſe to a diverſity of ſentiment; ſome members inſiſted that without further negociation, meaſures ought immediately to be taken for laying heavy reſtrictions on the commercial intercourſe between the United States and Great-Britain and for ſequeſtring all debts due to Britiſh ſubjects, as a pledge for an indemnification for our captured veſſels; ſome propoſed a ſuſpenſion of all commercial intercourſe whatever between the two countries. Theſe meaſures were conſidered by myſelf and others as too precipitate; we thought it was more politic to reſtrain our reſentments until the country ſhould be in a more reſpectable ſtate of defence; our plan was that the ports and harbours ſhould be immediately fortified—the arſenals well ſupplied—the military eſtabliſhments augmented and the militia made more effective;—that the Preſident ſhould be veſted with a power (for a limited time) to lay an embargo whenever he ſhould think it conducive to the public good, and that ſuch pecuniary reſources ſhould be called forth as would enable us to face the additional expences which a war would occaſion; that being thus prepared for war, though ſtill preferring peace, the Preſident ſhould demand in firm language of the Britiſh court an explanation of their conduct, a fulfilment of the

treaty, and indemnification for the depredations committed by their veſſels of war. It was far from improbable that either from a change of diſpoſition in that country, from the misfortune of the allied powers or from the firm aſpect of this country, all we wiſhed might be obtained without a war; but if negociation failed, we ſhould then be better prepared for war, our conduct would have been ſuch as to have juſtified us in the eyes of all Europe, would have united all parties at home, and would have put the conduct of the Britiſh cabinet ſo much in the wrong in the opinion of the Britiſh nation herſelf, as to have made a war with the United States a very unpopular one in England, a circumſtance by no means unimportant. At any rate war was to be avoided if poſſible; negociation was to be preferred as long as it could be without a ſacrifice of our national honor. The expreſſion of the public ſentiment in favor of peace, manifeſted by the general approbation of the Preſident's proclamation, and by the unanimous vote of both houſes of Congreſs, was a ſufficient ſanction for pacific meaſures, at the commencement of the ſeſſion; the ſubſequent cauſes of irritation, 'tis true, have been ſuch as to rouſe the feelings of the moſt pacific; a private individual may have nothing but his feelings to liſten to: but the public man, delegated to judge for others, entruſted with the property, the proſperity and ſafety of millions, muſt conſult other monitors; he is bound by his duty to weigh deliberately the conſequences of every meaſure, and to anticipate it's probable effects; the private individual ſpeaks from the impulſe of the moment; his American pride is hurt by injury, he cries aloud for war; the public man, no leſs ſtung and feeling as keenly the injury, ſpeaks not from the impulſe

of the moment, nor until he has ſeriouſly reflected on the tendency of his conduct; he conſiders whether ſatisfaction may not be obtained without hoſtility, conſults the beſt means of obtaining it, and he reſerves war for the *dernier reſort*. Still he may be wrong; it might under certain circumſtances be more politic to make repriſals on the firſt aggreſſion without previous negociation; but this is matter of opinion; every one judges from his own view of things, and it does not derogate from one's patriotiſm to prefer in the firſt inſtance the pacific path of of negociation; it does not diſplay more diſregard of the national dignity than is exhibited by thoſe who are conſtantly clamoring for war; can it be ſuppoſed that the moſt reſpectable characters in the United States, thoſe who have moſt at ſtake, thoſe who are moſt deeply intereſted in the public welfare, ſhould more tamely ſuffer the national degradation than men of a contrary deſcription? and yet, it may be remarked, (without giving offence to thoſe reſpectable citizens, whoſe paſſions ſometimes outrun their judgment) that many of thoſe who have been the principal oppoſers of the Preſident's proclamation, and are now the greateſt promoters of war meaſures, are men of little reputation, leſs property, and are as renowned for the violence of their paſſions as for the imbecility of their underſtandings.

Thus have I made an ingenuous expoſition of the motives of my conduct in relation to the commercial propoſitions, and I have availed myſelf of the opportunity to trace to my conſtituents an outline of the policy purſued by myſelf and thoſe members of the Houſe of Repreſentatives with whoſe opinions during the ſeſſion, mine have generally coincided on important queſtions.

But let it not be underſtood that this addreſs has been drawn from me either by the circumſtances of a late outrage, or by an anxious ſolicitude for a future election, for I do moſt ſincerely declare that neither an indignant retroſpect of one, nor an alarming anticipation of the other, has been the impulſe to this ſtep. With reſpect to the former, a little knowledge of mankind, and ſome ſmall acquaintance with hiſtory, have taught me that in moments of great political conflicts, when the public mind is convulſed and the paſſions are alive, the citizen who takes an active part on the ſtage of government muſt become obnoxious to one party or the other.

Amphibious muſt he be indeed who can ſo ſhape and model his conduct as to pleaſe both. The man of decided character muſt, after viewing the ſcene, take his ground and ſtedfaſtly maintain it; if he be intimidated by the denunciations, the calumnies, the inſults, or the menaces of his adverſaries, he is unworthy of the ſtation he fills: he muſt brave them all, advance in the path which duty points out, and, if he have no other reward, at leaſt he will receive that which ariſes from a conſcientious diſcharge of his truſt.

In every nation there exiſts a ſet of men, who at all times delight in war. Incapable of fulfilling the laborious duties of civil life, their turbulent ſpirits pant for the active ſcenes of a military one. Their reſtleſs tempers, diſdaining the drowſy toils of the counting-houſe or work-ſhop, ſeek with impetuous ardor the glorious exploits of the camp: they burn with impatience to exchange the pen for the ſword, or the hammer for the truncheon, and to obtain by a coup de main, that glory and wealth which the ignoble drudgery of many a tireſome

year would not have yielded. If deſtitute of property, while they apprehend not the loſſes of war, prize money, plunder, and other emoluments, are lures irreſiſtible: if deſtitute of reputation, while the tranquil times of peace afford leiſure to contemplate the villain's conduct, the haſty ſcenes of war ſnatch him from the view, and hide him in the confuſion of martial buſtle, and a lucky exploit in a military ſtation, may throw a tinſel luſtre over a character tarniſhed by a diſhonorale act in a civil one. If tramelled with debt, the confuſions incident to war may free him from his embarraſſments by a temporary ſuſpenſion of payment, or by a fortunate intervention of depreciated paper money. Theſe worthy characters prompted by ſo natural an antipathy to a ſtate of peace, and ſuch paſſionate fondneſs for war, will ardently graſp at every circumſtance which can promote their ends: any irritation of the public mind, any juſt reſentments for unprovoked injuries are fine materials for them to work upon; the peaceable citizens are rouzed by the clamor of revenge, their pacific diſpoſitions are ſtimulated by appeals to their national pride, and any kind of negociation is reprobated as a derelict ion of our character and an abandonment of our intereſts. Theſe appeals are reiterated in public and in private, in ſpeeches and in print, by the individuals ſeparately and aggregately in their clubs. Not content with the exiſting cauſes of irritation, the ferment is increaſed by an induſtrious circulation of falſe rumours and exaggerated injuries: denunciations are hurled upon all who recommend peace, till negociation has failed, or the country is better prepared for war, and no endeavours are neglected to deſtroy thoſe who thwart their views.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

I was well aware of the conduct of theſe worthies, and before I took my ground had anticipated all the reproaches, calumnies, and inſults, which they have ſo liberally beſtowed on me. To them therefore, if any ſuch there be among my conſtituents, I do not addreſs myſelf; I leave them to their own feelings, if they have any, and to that ſupreme contempt and general reprobation which their conduct neceſſarily inſpires.

With reſpect to a future election, I have pleaſure in declaring, that although I am not inſenſible to the honor of repreſenting ſo very reſpectable a diſtrict, nor to any favours which my fellow citizens may beſtow on me, as a proof of their confidence either in my zeal, or abilities, yet the anxieties incident at a criſis like the preſent to ſo turbulent and reſponſible a ſtation, more than counteract any inclination which, at other more pleaſing times, might be excited by ſo diſtinguiſhed an honor. At the expiration of the term of my election I ſhall have repreſented the diſtrict ſix years, and I ſhall be well content to be ſucceeded by any other who may be deemed by my country to poſſeſs more integrity, talents or patriotiſm. If during that period I ſhall have rendered any ſervices to my conſtituents, I ſhall claim no merit for having done ſo, becauſe I ſhall only have fulfilled my duty; neither ſhall I claim any reward, becauſe the pleaſure of ſerving a country which I love was always a ſufficient one. But in returning to the boſom of my fellow-citizens to enjoy the repoſe of retirement in a private life, after the tempeſts of a public one, it is important that I ſhould not find the public mind poiſoned againſt me by the infectious venom of ſlander, and that I ſhould not ſuffer impreſſions to take root, which a communication of

facts, and a candid attention to them, would extirpate. To thoſe of my conſtituents, therefore, I particularly addreſs myſelf, who, wiſhing to do what is right, may have been deceived or miſinformed, whoſe former confidence in me may have been ſhaken by the breath of calumny, whoſe paſſions, juſtly incenſed by the wrongs they have recently ſuſtained, may have for a time clouded the medium through which they have viewed my political conduct; of them I ſolicit a calm peruſal of the foregoing obſervations, and if they have leiſure, of the ſpeeches referred to: To their judgment I ſhall then appeal whether there is any thing in thoſe ſpeeches which betrays a diſpoſition to abandon our national intereſts or honor, whether on the contrary the whole of my obſervations did not diſplay the moſt zealous regard for the permanent intereſts and proſperity of the United States, and the moſt anxious apprehenſion that the meaſures propoſed had a tendency to ſacrifice them. If in this oppoſition, or in the arguments on which it was grounded, I erred, it was ſurely at worſt an error of judgment: For what poſſible intereſt can I have ſeparate from that of my country? Birth, connections, friends, property—every tie that can attach the human heart ſtrongly bind me to it, and deeply intereſt me in it's welfare; but all thoſe very ties, in addition to the injunctions of public duty, urge me to be the more cautious how I ſuffer any impulſe of the moment, or any ſudden indignation to put in jeopardy the eſſential intereſts of the nation, or commit her reputation; they ſtimulate me to oppoſe with perſeverance thoſe which in my judgment threaten unneceſſarily to involve us in the diſtreſſes of war, to ſubject us to foreign influence, or to ſacrifice our own true intereſts for the benefit

of other nations. In my oppoſition I ſtood on *American* ground, I viewed other nations with American eyes; I contemplated their reſpective meaſures in no other light than as they contributed to *ameliorate our commerce* and to *advance our proſperity*. And yet ſo groſsly have I been traduced, ſo active and virulent have been the tongue and the pen of calumny, that the moſt open enemy of his country could not well have been expoſed to greater indignities. For doing my duty with an honeſt zeal and for my exertions to promote the proſperity of my fellow-citizens, and reſcue them from the calamities of war, I have been expoſed to as much ignominy, as if I had been convicted of bartering my country's rights for foreign gold. The artifices which have been employed by the infamous tools of faction to effect this purpoſe are too well known. Dark inſinuations, mutilated quotations, and ſlanderous reports have not been ſpared. To impute foreign influence, to inſinuate corrupt motives, and to publiſh garbled fragments of a ſpeech will do the buſineſs with the warm and ſanguine who judge from firſt impreſſions, and have neither time nor inclination to ſcrutinize the truth. Thus, becauſe I ſhewed that the Britiſh commercial ſyſtem was not more unfavourable to the United States than that of France, when the queſtion was, " which was the moſt unfavorable?" Detraction immediately ſuggeſted—*Britiſh influence:* becauſe I was unwilling to beſtow commercial favors on France at our expence, without an equivalent ſecured by treaty, it added,—*hatred to France*—when I ſtated that the Britiſh commercial ſyſtem did not place us on a worſe footing than the French commercial ſyſtem, and that it rather placed us on a better footing than it did other nations, I was miſrepreſented

as ſaying that Great-Britain *treated* us better than France (meaning *politically*,) and better than ſhe treated other nations.

When I ſaid that particular ingredients in the Britiſh commercial ſyſtem were preferences to us, I was repreſented as boaſting of the *favors* Great-Britain granted us: when I pointed out the beſt mode of relieving the United States from a dependance on Britain alone for foreign ſupplies, I was miſrepreſented as oppoſing any mode, becauſe I diſapproved of the favorite project of *ſubſtituting* one *dependance* for *another*; when I ſtated that Great-Britain had endeavored to injure our fiſheries by her regulations, and that France had alſo taken meaſures to invite our fiſhermen to ſettle at Dunkirk, and that *in this particular*, ſhe had acted the part of an *inſidious friend*, I was miſrepreſented as having, in general and unqualified terms, charged the *French* with being inſidious friends, whereas the remark was expreſsly confined to one *particular fact* of public notoriety, originating with the French cabinet under the old government, which has been more than once charged by the preſent rulers, with having acted an inſidious part towards the United States.—When I confined the comparative view of the two commercial ſyſtems to the epoch, preceding the French revolution, becauſe the deviations on the part of France ſince the revolution had been fluctuating and unſettled, and becauſe the antecedent period could in a *commercial* point of view, be alone deemed, as Mr. Jefferſon had in his report ſtated it, the ſettled order of things, I was miſrepreſented as calling the monarchy of France the only ſettled over of things. Theſe are among the miſrepreſentations of my ſpeeches as will appear by a reference to them, to the debates in Congreſs and to the newſpaper paragraphs. As to any improvements upon them, which

remoteneſs from the ſcene of action, and the difficulty of contradiction may have facilitated to the ſlanderers at home, I am not acquainted with them, though I make every allowance for their induſtrious malevolence, and have no doubt that their activity and ingenuity have on this occaſion fully recommended them to the applauſes of their employers.

" Defamation (ſays a celebrated French writer) and the facility with which fools are made the inſtruments of diſſeminating it are perhaps the two moſt formidable ſcourges which virtue has to encounter. *Slander* is in a moral what *poiſon* is in a phyſical ſenſe: it is the reſource of cowards. It is a ſpecies of attack againſt which it is impoſſible to defend ourſelves; and as it is a thouſand times eaſier to propagate a report which murders the reputation of a citizen than to communicate the mortal draught, the puniſhment inflicted on theſe two kinds of murderers ought to be proportioned to the facility with which they can commit theſe crimes, and the difficulty with which they are guarded againſt. This principle is the more true from this circumſtance, that there are antidotes againſt poiſon but none againſt calumny. If we once eſcape the former, nothing further is to be apprehended from it, whereas the parole venom of the other acquires ſtrength in proportion to the reſiſtance with which it is oppoſed. The fatal doſe can only be adminiſtered by a ſingle hand, a hand which remorſe may arreſt and which may tremble at the fear of puniſhment, in ſhort the hand of a wretch arrived to that degree of infamy which makes crimes familiar to him; whereas ſcandal is one of the paſtimes of ſociety, and a ſource of entertainment. It is at the convivial board, in the gay circles that

the character of a virtuous man is blaſted, and delivered up to public execration. Not being preſent to defend himſelf (for were he preſent, theſe ſlanderers would be ſilent) and every thing which is ſaid in theſe inconſiderate converſations, and which is uncontradicted, being deemed indiſputable, the moſt abominable falſhoods ſoon acquire the ſemblance of truth; the hearers do not take the trouble to enquire if the thing be true, they only remember to have heard it ſaid, and they are impatient to repeat it to other hearers as credulous as themſelves. A general clamour is ſoon excited which pronounces the condemnation of the unfortunate victim, and which gets to ſuch a height that even the better part of the community are compelled to join in it. Thoſe who wear the maſk of patriotiſm affect to proſcribe him, in order to ſhew that they do not reſemble him, and the truly patriotic are induced to reprobate him, in order to deliver ſociety from a member by whom they conſider it as diſhonored."

Whatever be the extent or the effect of the clamour which may have been excited againſt me, though I ſhall always extremely lament the diſpleaſure of my fellow-citizens, yet I ſhall derive conſiderable confolation from the reflection that my conduct has been actuated by the pureſt motives of patriotiſm and duty, and from a ſincere conviction that it was perfectly conſiſtent with the warmeſt regard for the public weal. This conſolation is not a little enhanced by a firm perſuaſion that my ſentiments will ſtand the teſt of the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, and that even thoſe who, in the preſent moment of heat and ferment, criminate me, will hereafter in calmer and cooler moments, do juſtice, if not to my proceedings, at leaſt to the motives which ſuggeſted them.

Had I conſulted only my *popularity*, and baniſhed the injunctions of moral rectitude, and of the ſacred truſt repoſed in me, had I been more ſolicitous for a temporary perſonal gratification than for the permanent national good, I might have purſued a different line of conduct. Without an overweening fondneſs for *popularity*, I am not among thoſe, who are inſenſible to its charms, when it can be obtained by the performance of what is right. But when this capricious dame is only to be won by the proſtitution of my principles, I ſhall always turn from her with diſguſt, nor ſuffer her meretricious arts to ſwerve me from the path of duty. I leave it to others of more pliable diſpoſitions to be ſeduced by her blandiſhments and to forget in her arms their country's good and the duties of their ſtation. To them her faſcinating charms may make amends for the ſtings of conſcience, and the giddy joys of the preſent hour be ample compenſation for the future execration of their afflicted country.— Had I been diſpoſed to have courted popularity, I was not ignorant of the ſureſt means of obtaining it. Apprized of the prevailing partiality for France and the increaſing reſentment againſt Great-Britain, I had nothing to do but to ſing loud anthems in praiſe of the former and anathematize the latter, to be ranked among the patriots of the day, and to obtain diplomas as honorary member of all the democratic ſocieties. I could have clamoured with the loudeſt for Liberty and Equality and War, and fulminated with the moſt noiſy againſt Negociation, Moderation and Peace. But thinking as I did that it was more honourable to reſiſt the torrent than to increaſe it, more truly patriotic at the preſent juncture to ſtem the popular current than to go along with it, I prepared myſelf for all the ſuffering even

of a political martyrdom: I ſhould have deſpiſed myſelf had I permitted a wiſh for more popularity, or for the preſervation of that which I enjoyed to divert me from the political courſe which I had preſcribed to myſelf as the one moſt conſiſtent with our beſt and trueſt intereſts.

This courſe ſtill appears to me the wiſeſt. I am aware that by ſome, even of my friends, it will be conſidered as too tame, as not dignified enough, and neither calculated to manifeſt a proper ſenſe of the indignities offered us, or to procure a ſpeedy redreſs for them, Others, who are not my friends, will condemn it as a puſillanimous dereliction of our rights, and a degrading ſubmiſſion to inſult. I ſhall not be ſurprized if it ſhould be viewed in both theſe lights by many of my conſtituents. The inſults we have received are admitted to be ſuch as would juſtify the keeneſt reſentments, and kindle the warmeſt paſſions, but ſtill this queſtion occurs, " is *war* to be immediately reſorted to, or is the path of *negociation* to be firſt tried?" If, from a comprehenſive view of the ſtate of things, from a recurrence to the practice of nations, and from the expediency and propriety of the meaſure, the latter be preferred, then the neceſſity of checking the public indignation, of moderating the popular reſentment, becomes obvious, and however unpleaſant a taſk it may be, it is the duty of every real friend and ſincere well-wiſher of his country to attempt it. It is certainly more pleaſing to ſwim with the ſtream than to ſtruggle againſt it, but when the current leads to apparent ruin it muſt be reſiſted. War is an evil of ſuch magnitude that it ought to be avoided by every rational exertion conſiſtent with a due regard to the public honor. It is not inconſiſtent with national honor to demand in

temperate language redreſs for the higheſt inſults; the practice of the moſt haughty nations has authorized the proceeding; ſatisfaction may be obtained by it without reſorting to arms: But ſhould our expectations be diſappointed, we have ſtill that laſt appeal to apply to, and it can be done with greater effect after negociation ſhall have failed than at this time: The juſtice of this appeal will be more apparent to all the world, it will be ſanctioned by the unanimous voice of the country, and *we ſhall be better prepared to make it.*

Scarce had I written the foregoing obſervations, when I had the ſatisfaction of knowing that the Preſident of the United States, whoſe zealous ſolicitude for his country's good is only equalled by his profound judgment in ſelecting the meaſures moſt likely to advance it, had ſtamped a value on them by determining, as far as his conſtitutional authority permitted, to give one more trial to negociation. The patriotic ſentiments which inſpired him are diſplayed in the following meſſage to the Senate; "The communications which I have made to you during your preſent ſeſſion, from the diſpatches of our miniſter in London, contain a ſerious aſpect of our affairs with Great-Britain. But as peace ought to be purſued with unremitted zeal before the laſt reſource, which has ſo often been the ſcourge of nations and cannot fail to check the advanced proſperity of the United States, is contemplated, I have thought proper to nominate John Jay, as Envoy Extraordinary of the United States to his Britannic Majeſty. My confidence in our Miniſter Plenipotentary in London continues undiminiſhed. But a miſſion like this, while it correſ-

ponds with the ſolemnity of the occaſion, will announce to the world a ſolicitude for a friendly adjuſtment of our complaints, and a reluctance to hoſtility. Going immediately from the United States, ſuch an Envoy will carry with him a full knowledge of the exiſting temper and ſenſibility of our country, and will thus be taught to vindicate our rights with firmneſs, and to cultivate peace with ſincerity."

The Senate having by a great majority concurred in this pacific diſpoſition and ſanctioned the appointment, it now becomes the duty of every good citizen to forbear from all acts which may fruſtrate the negociation; ſhould it fail to procure redreſs, it will then be the duty of every good citizen to hazard his life and fortune in avenging his country's wrongs.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1794.

FH
MVSEVM
BRITANNICVM

BOOKS PRINTED FOR J. DEBRETT, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

AMERICAN KALENDAR, 1794.

This Day is Published, Price 2s. 6d.

Printed uniformly, to bind with ROYAL KALENDAR and COURT and CITY REGISTER,

(To be CONTINUED ANNUALLY, and will be carefully corrected to the Time of Publication)

THE AMERICAN KALENDAR, or UNITED STATES REGISTER for 1794;

Containg a COMPREHENSIVE VIEW of the SITUATION, Revenues, Taxes, Extent, Latitude and Longitude of the principal Towns, and their Vicinity, GOVERNMENT, POPULATION, INTERNAL POLICE, State of Literature, ARTS, COMMERCE and Society, in the UNITED STATES of AMERICA.

DEPARTMENT of the TREASURY—STATEMENT of the PUBLIC DEBT of the UNITED STATES—APPROPRIATIONS for the SUPPORT of GOVERNMENT—Principals and Clerks of the reſpective Offices—Commiſſioners of Loans—Officers of the Cuſtoms, with their reſpective Diſtricts and Ports—Officers of the Exciſe, with their reſpective Diſtricts and Surveys—RATES or CUSTOMS on Goods, Wares, and Merchandize imported into the UNITED STATES, with the Drawbacks, &c.—Abſtract from the Revenue Laws—Statement of Light-houſes.

WESTERN TERRITORY.

STATE GOVERNMENTS. Correct Epitome of the Conſtitution of each State—Principal Officers, Executive, Legiſlative, and Judiciary.

SUPREME EXECUTIVE.

LEGISLATURE, including correct Liſts of the SENATE and HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES, with their Pay for Attendance, &c.

EXECUTIVE BRANCHES.

DEPARTMENT of STATE, with the Salaries annexed to every Department. Miniſters and Conſuls of the United States in foreign Nations—Do. of foreign Nations reſident in the United States.

JUDICIARY. SESSIONS of the COURTS of the United States.—Liſt of Counſellors admitted to practiſe in the Supreme Court—Do. of Attornies, Do.

DEPARTMENT of WAR. Secretary's Office—Accountant's—Monthly Pay, &c. of the Army.

MINT ESTABLISHMENT. Officers—Abſtract from the Laws relating to Coinage, including a Liſt of the ſeveral Coins.

POST-OFFICE ESTABLISHENT.—Officers—Abſtract from the Law eſtabliſhing the Office—Liſt of Poſt Towns, with their reſpective Diſtances as eſtabliſhed by the Poſt Maſter General.

BANKS. United States—North America—State Banks, with their Capitals.

LITERARY INSTITUTIONS. American Philoſophical Society, &c.—American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

NATIONAL MANUFACTORY at Paterſon. Militia—Officers of the Banks, Capitals, Dates of Incorporation, Periods of Limitation, Extent of Property, &c.—Univerſities, Colleges and Academies—Societies, Scientic, Humane, Political, &c.

The REPORT of ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Eſq. Secretary of the Treaſury of the United States of America, on the SUBJECT of MANUFACTURES. Price 2s. 6d.

The FEDERAL CONSTITUTION of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, with an Appendix, containing the Acts reſpecting the Conſtitution. A New Edition with conſiderable Additions.

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER, 1794.

This Day was Publiſhed,

NUMBER XII. of the DEBATES of the LAST SESSION, reviſed and colated, with the Notes of ſeveral Members, and which completes the FIRST VOLUME of this Seſſion, with a Copious Index; in One very large Volume, price 13s. half-bound and lettered.

This Volume includes, among many other important State Papers, and which are not to be found in any ſimilar publication, APPROPRIATION PAPER, ſhewing how the money given for the ſervice of the year 1793 has been diſpoſed of; ESTIMATE of SERVICES performed by the Office of Ordnance, and ESTIMATE of CHARGES of the Office of Ordnance, for 1794; an Account of Monies iſſued out of the CIVIL LIST REVENUES, between 14th February and 5th April, 1794; an Account of the SURPLUS of the CONSOLIDATED FUND; Total of ARMY ESTIMATES, &c. &c.

NUMBERS XXI. and XXII. were publiſhed this day, and the remainder of the Seſſion will be publiſhed in a few days.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER; or, The HISTORY of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of LORDS and COMMONS: Containing an Account of the moſt intereſting Speeches and Motions, authentic Copies of all important Letters and Papers laid before either Houſe during the laſt Seſſion.

*** The Editors flatter themſelves that theſe Debates, which they have the honour to preſent to the Public, will fully prove the earneſt deſire they entertain to act up to the very diſtinguiſhed patronage they have ſo long experienced. They hazard little in the opinion, that the queſtion involved in them is of the firſt intereſt and importance: and it is preſumed, they will not hazard leſs, in expreſſing their moſt ſanguine hopes, that from the Copiouſneſs of Detail, the Fidelity of Argument, and the Accuracy of Expreſſion with which they are given, they will afford a very ſuperior gratification to the Public Mind.

Of whom may be had,

The PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER of the THIRD SESSION of the preſent PARLIAMENT: Containing, beſides a faithful Report of the Debates and Proceedings in both Houſes of Parliament, reviſed and colated with the Notes of ſeveral Gentlemen—Authentic copies of the Treaties with Sardinia, Ruſſia, and Heſſe Caſſel.—Report on the Commercial Credit—Reſolutions for the Government of India—Lord Auckland's Correſpondence preſented by Lord Grenville—Lords Proteſt on the Bath Peerage, and on the Scots Election—Correſpondence between Lord Grenville and M. Chauvelin, complete; an account of the Charges and Income upon the Conſolidated Fund to the 5th of January, 1793. Total Produce of the Duties on Cuſtoms, Exciſe, Stamps, and Incidents, to October 10, 1792. Total Net Produce of Cuſtoms and Exciſe in England and Scotland, &c &c. in three large volumes. Price 1l. 8s. half-bound and lettered.

The PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER of the FIRST and SECOND SESSIONS of the preſent Parliament. In Six large Vols. 8vo. Price 3l. 16s. half-bound and lettered.

The PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER, from the General Election in 1780, to the Diſſolution of Parliament in 1784, in 14 Volumes. Price 5l. 5s. half-bound and lettered.

The PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER, from the General Election in 1784, to the Diſſolution of Parliament in 1790, in 13 Volumes, Price 6l. 12s. half-bound and lettered.

The DEBATES and PROCEEDINGS of BOTH HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, from the year 1743, to the year 1774. Printed uniformly to bind with the Parliamentary Register, in Seven large Volumes, Octavo, price 2l. 12s. 6d. bound and lettered.

THE INCOME and EXPENDITURE of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, as preſented to the HOUSE of REPRESENTATIVES in ſundry Eſtimates and Statements, relative to the Appropriations for the Service of the Year 1794.

By ALEXANDER HAMILTON, Eſq.

Secretary to the Treaſury of the United States of America.

To which is added,

The REPORT of the CONGRESS of the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, on the Nature and Extent of the Privileges and Reſtrictions of the Commercial inte courſe of the United States with Foreign Nations, and the Meaſures proper to be adopted for the Improvement of the Commerce and Navigation of the ſame.

By THOMAS JEFFERSON, Eſq.
Secretary of State.

Price One Shilling and Sixpence.

The TRANSACTIONS of the AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY, held at Philadelphia, for promoting Uſeful Knowledge. Volume the Third, illuſtrated by Six Engravings, price One Guinea in boards.

Philadelphia, printed 1793; and ſold by J. Debrett, oppoſite Burlington houſe, Piccadilly; and J. Sewell, Cornhill. Of whom may be had, the two former Volumes, price 1l. 16s. in board.

*** Gentlemen who are in poſſeſſion of the two firſt Volumes, are reſpectfully entreated to complete their ſets as early as poſſible.

BRITISH MUSEUM